Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Land Dyak OC8
Buru ONS

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[459 cont.] in it but make a complaint, the complaint is rejected if the game were a forbidden one because the deceased met his death as a direct consequence of his unlawful action. In the opposite case it would be accepted.

The amount of the wergild varies among the various peoples in the archipelago and is governed by various circumstances, primarily the rank and sex of the slain person. Among the Makassarese, the sapu for a male slave is 20 reals and for a female slave 30 reals; for a free man 30 reals and for a free woman 40 reals; for a noble person 80 reals. Among the Redjang the amount of the bangun is given as follows: for a pembarab and for a proatin, two classes of chiefs, 500 and 250 dollars, respectively; for the wife of a pembarab 250 dollars; for a man from the common class 80 dollars and for a woman from it 150 dollars. Similar provisions apply among the people of Pasemah and in some areas of Benkulen. We must point out a peculiar way of determining the wergild among some peoples. As is known, in the German common law, each part of the body, including fingers and toes, was given a certain monetary value, and the compensation for murder and bodily injury was calculated accordingly. [460] Something similar formerly existed among the Javanese and still does among some other peoples. For instance, the Dajak of the western division of Borneo divide the human body into 12 parts, the head, the eyes, the ears, the voice, the trunk, the belly, the pudenda, the hands, the blood, the heart, the skin, and the hair. Each of these parts represents a fixed amount in goods, for example, the eyes, a set of golden earrings at five to six reals; the voice, a tawa-tawa, or gong, at 12 reals; the hands, a gun at six reals, etc. The total number of objects have a value of 86 reals. This is the amount of the wergild. Another example of similar evaluation of the human body is found among the Alfoer of Buru. Here there is the belief that one can cause the death of another through certain evil spirits. Thus, when someone dies, an investigation is started at once to fix the blame.

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2: Wilken--515 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Minangkabau OD10
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Timor OF20
Nias OD11

Malays AN5
Javanese OE5
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7
Batak OD5

[464 cont.]

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h. Punishments

From the above, we see that the punishments among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago are:

1. forfeiture of property,
2. death penalty or other corporal punishment,
3. forfeiture of liberty.

The first type consists of fines or compensations, primarily for crimes against individuals; the second is imposed for political crimes and offences against good morals, also as an alternative for crimes against individuals, and the third, consisting of slavery and bondage, is primarily an alternative for crimes against individuals. We wish to consider these last two categories for a moment, first a few details concerning the death penalty and other corporal punishments.

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[465] Among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago the death penalty is executed in various ways. In the first place, especially among the Malays, Javanese, Makassarese and Buginese, Balinese, and Batak, the appointed executioner kills the culprit by inserting a kris or pike under the scapula and piercing the heart. We find this punishment applied by the Javanese for political crimes and among the Minangkabau Malays as an alternative when the bangun is not paid and the family of the person slain does not want to put the murderer to death themselves and the execution is handled by the public authorities. Decapitation occurs among the Buginese, Lampong, Timorese, and Niassans. Among the last, it is done by putting the condemned person prone on the ground and then severing the head from the body over the trunk of a tree with a single blow. A third way of executing the death sentence is strangulation. This occurs principally in the Buginese countries and is known as riwasse-ase and nibasse-pare, both expressions literally meaning "rice being tied in bundles," because for strangulation the same kind of knot as the one for tying rice is used. The noose is tightened by two men seated on the ground on either side of the victim

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Redjang-Lampong OD22 Makasser OG6
Atjehnese OD4 Nias OD21
Javanese OE5 Lombok OF12
Batak OD5 Ngadju OC9
Bali OF7

MK 681 [465 cont.]

N [681 684] each holding an end in his hand. Strangulation also occurs among the Niassans and is done as primitively as among the Makassarese and Buginese. The punishment of drowning is

MK Bl L R-L Ng 681 684 found more commonly. It is applied primarily for incest and as an alternative for adultery if the fine is not paid. Such is the case among the Makassarese and Buginese, the Balinese, the Sasak, the Lampong and the Dajak, at least among the Olo Ngadju, who inhabit the southeastern division. The execution is done simply by tying a stone around the culprit's neck, as among the Buginese, by sewing him into a sack half-filled with stones and rice as among the Balinese and Sasak, or by putting him into a basket weighted with stones, as among the Dajak,

MK N A 681 and throwing it in the sea or river. [466] Drowning also occurs among the Niassans, and on Atjeh thieves are done away with in this manner. Besides drowning, we should mention another type of punishment, whereby the condemned is put on a raft of areca trunks and put to sea so as to drift away. This is done by the Buginese, who call it ripali, and by the Atjehnese.

Bl L 681 Among the Balinese there is also burning alive, which is sometimes applied for incest. Other death penalties are tearing the offender apart, known on Bali and Lombok as mapèntang, letting him starve to death, and burying him alive. We must

Bl 681 266 point out still another peculiar way of executing the death sentence among the Batak; in some cases, for example, for adultery, it is coupled with eating the body of the culprit.

Among the corporal punishments there is first of all the

J 681 meting out of blows with a stick or cane. This punishment has a prominent place in the Javanese law codes in particular and it is most commonly applied as an alternative for nonpayment of fines or for adultery. Mutilating punishments, too,

Bl 681 such as chopping off one or another part of the body, are not rare. In former times on Bali the princes had the custom of

I 681 cutting off the hand, putting out the eyes, etc., of a person from whom nothing much could be collected. But enough.

Timor OF20
Moluccas OH1

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Minangkabau OD10
Malays AN5
Tagalog OA36

MI MK MR I BR 774 754 753 761 [558 cont.] sleepers. These spirits bear various names. Among the Malays of Sumatra they are called palasib or, according to Minangkabau pronunciation, pălăsiëq; among the Batak, palasik; and elsewhere in Malayan lands, penanggalan. Among the Dajak in particular the belief in these spirits plays an important role. They are called hantuen, and in nearly every region of the southeastern division there are persons who are suspected of being hantuen. Naturally, there is great abhorrence of marriage with such a person. It is said, however, that such marriages sometimes occur, because one does not always know. If it is regarded as proved that someone is a hantuen, then he is put to death with the greatest tortures. Among the Buginese these spirits are called paeppo, among the Makassarese popokang. Among these peoples, they are exclusively women. If a woman is thought to be such at the court, she is immediately reduced to slavery and sentenced to pounding kemiri nuts all day long every day, which is a means of preventing her nightly wanderings.

MK [562 681]

T MD Tm 754 761 753 774 The belief in these beings also exists in the eastern part of the archipelago, in the Moluccas and on Timor. They are called suwangi or swangi here. Especially when a ruler dies, a swangi is often blamed for it. The person accused of being the swangi [559] is put to death and his relatives are made slaves. Among the Tagalog on Luzon, who believe in these spirits, they are called magtatankal.

g. Pontianak

MD I 755 [845] Another spirit that is generally feared is the pontianak, the name of the spirits of women who died before delivery. Every woman who dies in childbed becomes a pontianak. They generally show themselves in the form of a bird and are therefore flying ghosts. These pontianak who could not enjoy motherhood before their confinement, begrudge that of their sisters and always try to harm pregnant women. It is not pregnant women

MD I [843]

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so. C 631 C [622] 178

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone. M 793 624 875 565 692

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place. M 178 887 181

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced. M 789 778 565

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had M 521 665 178 681 M [562] 000

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using decorative symbols on houses which were previously tabu. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampong). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampong boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned